



A slab of rock weighing more than 1,000 tons fell across railroad tracks near Ez-sur-Mer east of Nice yesterday, cutting main rail links between France and Italy.

# Iran Finds Sales of Oil Off by 10%

## Pricing of Saudis Held Responsible

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Iran will reduce its oil production because of the cutback in demand, an official of the national company said.



Child walks past roadblock separating Christian-held east Beirut from Moslem west.

# Parliament Dissolved In Israel

## General Elections Slated for May 17

TEL AVIV, Jan. 5 (UPI)—Israeli legislators voted today to dissolve the Knesset and set May 17 as the date for new elections.

Later, some attended the funeral of Housing Minister Avraham Ofer, who committed suicide Monday.

"You said you were innocent and the words still ring in my ears," said Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, facing the plain wood coffin of the minister who killed himself in the face of a corruption investigation.

"I told you at our last meeting that I believed you," Mr. Rabin said.

"Now we bring you to eternal rest, sure of your word."

"Let your memory be blessed."

The vote in a 30-minute session of the parliament in Jerusalem automatically leaves Mr. Rabin at the head of a caretaker government and cancels the requirement that he try to set up a new cabinet pending the elections.

Nationalist Controversy

Mr. Rabin resigned from office two weeks ago following a national controversy over the arrival of new U.S. F-15 jets close to the eve of the Jewish Sabbath.

President Ephraim Katsir and Mr. Rabin held hundreds of government and Labor party officials at Mr. Ofer's funeral at the Kiryat Shaul Cemetery outside Tel Aviv.

Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren authorized the burial in the regular section of the cemetery despite Jewish tradition, which calls for suicides to be buried at the fringes of the graveyard.

Mr. Ofer, a close confidant of Mr. Rabin and a leading member of the Labor party, shot himself following news reports that linked him with an investigation of corruption and bribery.

In interviews aired after his death, Mr. Ofer denied the charges, but declined to answer publicly "every little detail of every charge about particular business deals."

He said that he demanded that the police tell him what the charges were against him so he could respond but that he was told repeatedly to wait.

Wave of Rumors

His family and friends said the irresponsible reporting by the press and the wave of rumors that followed prompted the suicide.

The investigation grew out of a probe of the dealings of another Labor party official—Ashraf Yadin—who was slated to become governor of the Bank of Israel before he was jailed on suspicion of bribery and fraud.

It centered on the suspected misappropriation of \$50,000 in land purchases from Arabs in occupied territory around Jerusalem when Mr. Ofer was head of the Labor movement's Shikun Ordum housing company.

As the rumors mounted, Mr. Ofer was replaced as head of the party's election campaign committee.

The Jerusalem Post quoted an unnamed "key Labor party functionary" as saying that Mr. Ofer's suicide may hurt Mr. Rabin politically.

"It became Kafkaesque," the source said. "No one talked to him, no one said what they had against him. There is no doubt he died with a feeling the leadership did him wrong."

In his eulogy, Mr. Rabin paid tribute to Mr. Ofer's organizational ability as head of Shikun Ordum and as housing minister, and said, "His mark is to be seen across the map of Israel."

The state funeral service was held in the marble-columned lobby of the Tel Aviv City Hall where Mr. Ofer, 54, when he died once served as city councilman.

Those attending the funeral included Mr. Katsir, Mr. Rabin and the rest of the Cabinet, former Defense Minister Moshe Dayan and former Prime Minister Golda Meir.

# Democratic Laws in Force in Spain

MADRID, Jan. 5 (UPI)—Profound political change came into force today with the publication in the official state bulletin of laws setting up a new parliament and revising the judicial system.

By coincidence, the laws were published on King Juan Carlos's 39th birthday. In the first year of his reign as successor to Generalissimo Francisco Franco, the King has been the driving force behind changing the Franco dictatorship into a democracy.

The new laws that came into force included:

- A constitutional amendment approved by a 94-percent majority in a referendum Dec. 15, creating a 580-member Chamber of Deputies and a 208-member Senate, both elected by popular vote.
- Decrees abolishing political courts and the military's jurisdiction over terrorism, thus unifying the judicial system and making it more likely that political offenders get a fair trial.
- A decree scrapping the automatic three-year prison sentence for conscientious objectors and giving them an alternative of civil service work.
- Publication of the laws occurred only hours after the nation's main opposition parties of the center and the left picked a team of four moderates for negotiations with Premier Adolfo Suarez on the further democratization of Spain.
- The opposition suggested that the negotiations first tackle the problem of a total political amnesty and the legalization of all parties, including the Communists.
- In a later stage, the negotiations will turn to the matter of Spain's first free elections in 41 years, scheduled for the first half of this year, and draft an electoral law.
- There was no immediate reaction from the government to the opposition move.
- Suarez's Condition
- But sources close to the government said they believed the reaction will be positive since the opposition respected the "only condition set by Mr. Suarez for the negotiations: that no member

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Iran will reduce its oil production because of the cutback in demand, an official of the national company said.

# Chamoun Warns of New Battles

NICOSIA, Jan. 5 (UPI)—Lebanese Christian leader Camille Chamoun warned today that his rightist forces would "resume fighting" if a wave of bombings and shootings in Christian areas continued.

"These incidents arouse grave fears for the future," Mr. Chamoun said in an interview on the rightist Phalangist party radio. "Should they continue to occur, we will not remain silent. We will resume fighting and return to the previous situation."

The sharp warning was issued after a new bomb blast last night near the local Phalangist headquarters, in the seaport of Tybous, 15 miles north of Beirut.

The rightist-held radio station said that a "time bomb exploded in the heart of Tybous," normally a crowded market town, but gave no report of casualties.

It was the second bombing in a Christian sector in Lebanon this week.

In a telephone call to United Press International in Nicosia, a 25-year-old housewife from east Beirut said rightist militiamen set up roadblocks and searched all incoming traffic from the western Moslem sector of the divided city.

"The situation is quite tense and everyone is very nervous," she said in the phone call, made after official censorship went into force this afternoon.

[The Associated Press and Reuters filed reports from Beirut this afternoon that were subject to censorship by authorities.]

Automobile traffic between east and west Beirut was restored today, but movement was greatly curtailed because of the armed checkpoints and because both Moslem and Christian citizens were afraid to cross the no-man's-land between the two sectors.

On Monday night, a heavy charge of TNT in an automobile

# China's July Quake Killed 655,237, Injured 779,000, Taiwan Reports

HONG KONG, Jan. 5 (UPI)—At least 655,237 persons were killed and 779,000 injured in the July 28 earthquake in the Tangshan area of north China, according to an alleged classified Chinese report released by Nationalist sources in Taiwan.

The report, whose authenticity could not be verified by independent sources here, is entitled "Material (Part II) for the Study of the Conference on Resisting Earthquakes and Relieving Disasters Among Third World Nations." It is dated Aug. 8 and was allegedly issued by the Communist party and government organs of Hebei Province, where Tangshan is located.

Of the injuries, 79,000 were critical enough to require emergency treatment and 700,000 were less serious, the report said. Casualties in other stricken areas, such as Peking and Tientsin, were "comparatively smaller," it said. The claimed casualties would make the Tangshan disaster second only to the great 1958 earthquake in the Chinese province of Hsensi, in which 800,000 persons reportedly died.

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng said Dec. 25 that the Tangshan quake had "inflicted a loss of lives and property that is rarely seen in history," but the Chinese have issued no casualty figures.

The total population of the Tangshan area before the quake was estimated at 1.6 million. Analysts here said that it was hard to believe such a high proportion of the population was killed.

# Political Divisions in Spain Reflected in a Graffiti War

MADRID, Jan. 5 (UPI)—Spain's move toward democracy has covered the walls with political graffiti and produced a shortage of spray paint.

"Liberty" and "Amnesty" are the words most often painted by leftist activists. Often they are adorned with the hammer and sickle.

Rightists retort with the Falangist symbol of five arrows with a yoke and a wide range of slogans praising the late Francisco Franco.

"Franco Lives," a slogan asserts.

"And So Does El Cid" (Spain's 15th-century hero) is scrawled beside it.

"Under Franco, We Lived Better," insists another slogan. Some use thick red paint to change it into "Under Franco, S-O-C-I-E-L-I-V-E-D-B-E-T-T-E-R-And Without Dignity."

"Democracy Equals Power for the Assassins," the Falangists retort.

Other graffiti are more philosophical than political. "If God Exists, That's H-I-S Problem," says one. And another sums up the good things in life as "Bread."

A Good Rest and the Last Tango.

A spokesman for the Madrid city government said 170 city employees made a count of slogans last month. They turned up 35,000 of them and discovered that black spray paint is the preferred medium. Spray paint is extremely difficult to remove, so the city asked the owners of buildings not to count on its sanitation personnel to do the cleaning.

During a recent "week of struggle" called by leftist groups, 5,000 cans of paint spray were bought up in the city of Malaga alone, creating a shortage of the material.

It has not always been so easy for Spaniards to express their views by painting a few words on a wall. Under Franco, to be caught painting a "subversive" slogan—and such words as "Freedom" and "Democracy" were considered subversive by the courts—usually meant two or more years in jail.

In the first years after the 1939-39 Civil War that established the Franco dictatorship, the residents of houses on whose walls political graffiti appeared (Continued on Page 2, Col. 8)

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# Russia Will Buy U.S. Grain Despite Record '76 Harvest

MOSCOW, Jan. 5 (UPI)—The Soviet Union harvested a record 223.8 million metric tons of grain last year, but will keep its commitment to buy U.S. corn and wheat, Agriculture Minister Valentin Mesyats said today.

Mr. Mesyats declared at a news conference for Soviet and foreign reporters that the Soviet Union had rebuilt its grain stocks following the 1975 drought that cut that year's harvest to a low 138 million tons. He said that gains were also made in meat production.

Only the potato and sugar beet crops fell below target because of an unexpected October frost, Mr. Mesyats said.

"The year was very difficult. There was a lot of worry about the fate of the harvest," the minister said. "However, we can say today that the agriculture workers did their job successfully."

"We've got the biggest grain harvest in all our history—223.8 million tons," he said. The previous record was 225.5 million tons in 1973.

Asked how much grain the Soviet Union would import this year, Mr. Mesyats said, "According to the figures that have been released, we have laid in stock enough grain to satisfy all of our needs."

"However," he said, "what has been foreseen by agreement—we'll take it all."

A five-year agreement signed last year provides for the Soviet Union to purchase a minimum

# U.K. Envoy Goes To Mozambique

GABORONE, Botswana, Jan. 5 (AP)—The chairman of the Gt neva conference on Rhodesia, Ivor Richard, flew from his afternoon for Maputo, Mozambique, on the next leg of his six-nation tour of southern Africa.

Mr. Richard will have talks with President Samora Machel whose country, like Botswana, one of the "front-line" states bordering Rhodesia. After Mozambique, he flies to Tanzania.

This morning, Mr. Richard talks with Botswana's President Seretse Khama, which the British envoy described as "detail and sympathetic."

# Black South Africa Pupils Returning to School

JOHANNESBURG, Jan. 5.—Black pupils were returning to school in moderate numbers today, but it remained unclear if older students—who have become the protest leaders against white South African rule—would continue to demand a boycott of classes.

Student activists in Soweto, the city of a million blacks outside Johannesburg, asserted that high school attendance remained low, estimated at about 10 to 20 per cent. It was in primary schools that attendance was reported as "pretty much up to normal."

Schools in most black cities and towns have been shut or barely operating for six months. The boycott began in June when black youths rioted over being forced to take instruction in Afrikaans, the language of conservative whites, rather than in English or in a tribal language.

Crash Courses

The government withdrew the order, but by then more than 100 blacks had been killed and hundreds of others jailed. Unrest resumed in August and has continued sporadically.

In Soweto, and in black schools

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abdominal



## Low-Profile President

## Radical New Style Introduced In Mexico by Lopez Portillo

By Alan Riding

MEXICO CITY, Jan. 5 (NYT).—After a month in office, President Jose Lopez Portillo has wiped away the memory of the stormy Echeverria administration by adopting a radically different style of government, devoid of demagoguery and even shy of publicity.

The same party remains in power, many of the same politicians are still around and, in broad terms, the same policies are being followed. But the mood of Mexico has changed dramatically overnight.

Unlike former President Luis Echeverria, who improvised controversial speeches and press in-

## EEC's Ortolí Bows Out for Jenkins Entry

BRUSSELS, Jan. 5 (Reuters).

The Common Market Commission headed by François-Xavier Ortolí bowed out today to make way for the new EEC executive under Roy Jenkins, which formally takes office tomorrow.

Mr. Jenkins, a former Labor home secretary, today formally resigned from the British Parliament so that he can take over officially tomorrow as president of the Commission.

Of the 13 men in the Ortolí team, 6—including Mr. Ortolí, a former French finance minister—will be included in the new Commission.

The first task of Mr. Jenkins will be to allocate the Commission portfolios.

Among officials here, there is speculation that Mr. Ortolí will be given responsibility for economic and monetary affairs.

**Agriculture Post**

The commission's agricultural departments, previously headed by the Netherlands' Pierre Lardinois, who is leaving Brussels, are expected to go to Finn-Olav Gundelach, a Danish technocrat.

Claude Cheysson of France is expected to keep development aid and relations with Mediterranean countries, while Belgium's Etienne Davignon is likely to head the other major elements in external trade and foreign affairs.

Former Dutch Defense Minister Henk Vredeling may get energy, while Antonio Giliotti of Italy will probably get regional policy and other elements of community aid to its backward regions.

The biggest unknown concerns the posts to be given to the two West German commissioners—Willy Haferkamp and Guido Brunner.

Mr. Haferkamp is being downgraded from his former post to make way for Mr. Ortolí, while Mr. Brunner has been seeking an improvement on his current portfolio of research and education.

## Pakistan Refuses To Drop Plan for French A-Plant

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, Jan. 5 (AP).

Pakistan said that it will go ahead with plans to purchase a nuclear reprocessing plant from France despite opposition from the United States and Canada.

Asif Ahmed, minister of defense and foreign affairs, told a news conference: "No third country has any right to demand that Pakistan abandon the reprocessing plant."

The United States and Canada are opposed to acquisition of such reprocessing facilities by Pakistan and other Third World nations because of concern that the plutonium extracted could be diverted to production of nuclear weapons.

Since the Pakistani-French deal was concluded, the French government has adopted a stricter policy on nuclear exports and a flat ban on future sales of reprocessing facilities. However, it said France would honor all contracts already signed, including the one with Pakistan.

Mr. Ahmed disclosed his government's stance on the reprocessing plant deal in discussing the decision announced by Canada Dec. 23 to end its nuclear cooperation program with Pakistan. Mr. Ahmed said Pakistan would try to purchase fuel and spare parts for its Canadian-built power plant from other nations.

**Berlinguer in Romania To Visit Ceausescu**

BUCHAREST, Jan. 5 (AP).

Italian Communist party leader Enrico Berlinguer arrived here today for a "visit of friendship" at the invitation of Romanian party chief Nicolae Ceausescu.

An Italian source said that the visit had been scheduled for last November but was postponed due to crowded agendas. Mr. Berlinguer is due to leave Friday.

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PEN PALS—Japanese schoolchildren and adults put brush to paper in the annual New Year calligraphy ceremony at Budokan Hall in Tokyo. This year, an estimated 3,600 persons took part in the rites, called Kakizome in Japanese.

Associated Press.

## In First Continental Census

## Elephants Being Counted Throughout Africa

By Boyce Rensberger

NEW YORK, Jan. 5 (NYT).

The status of Africa's elephant populations, widely held to be declining rapidly and possibly approaching extermination in some areas, is being examined in the first continent-wide research program attempted on an African animal.

Threatened by ivory hunters and the encroachment of human settlements, the survival of African elephants has become one of the most pressing concerns of international conservation groups.

First reports from the project, sponsored by the World Wildlife Fund and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature, confirm drastic declines in elephant numbers in some parts of East Africa, but also show that in the continent's largest game preserve at least 80,000 elephants live virtually unthreatened and may even be expanding their range.

The huge population, which may be the largest in the world, had never before been counted.

**No Conclusions**

The three-year study, which has just begun, has produced no broad conclusions, but at the end it is expected to develop recommendations toward improving the conservation of elephants.

Because of their size and food requirements, African elephants are highly sensitive to human pressure, usually fleeing the expansion of farmlands but sometimes being shot if they remain to trample rice fields. Additional pressure has come in recent years from the soaring price of ivory, which has encouraged large-scale illegal hunting.

One of the more unusual conservation methods to be examined during the program is the establishment of a cartel of ivory-producing countries that could regularize the trade.

Such a cartel, it has been suggested, would be interested in sustaining ivory production as a renewable resource and would act to stabilize prices and limit the annual killing of elephants.

The elephant survey and conservation program in Africa is being conducted by Dr. Ian Douglas-Hamilton and Dr. Harvey Croze, both wildlife biologists with extensive experience in East Africa. A similar study will be carried out in Asian elephants, the smaller of the two species, by Dr. J.O. Daniel and R. Olivier.

One of the more dramatic declines in elephant numbers has been seen in "grands" in Kibalega National Park, formerly known as Murchison Falls, official counts indicated more than 14,000 elephants living there in 1973. A recount this year by Dr. Douglas-Hamilton and Ian Parker, a Nairobi wildlife consultant, found only about 2,600 elephants.

In Uganda's Ruwenzori National Park, formerly Queen Elizabeth National Park, there were said to be 2,700 elephants in 1973. The recount found 1,200.

A count of carcasses on the ground suggested that the main cause of the declines was death rather than emigration. A comparison of Uganda's ivory export figures with import figures from Hong Kong, a prime ivory market, indicated far more ivory leaving Uganda than was accounted for in legal exports.

Because most of the ivory leaving Africa is illegally obtained,

accurate estimates of the rate of elephant killing are hard to obtain. However, the import figures from Hong Kong alone indicate that about 500 tons of ivory were received there in 1975. That is the product of from 25,000 to 30,000 elephants. Last year's figures are incomplete, but are running at a rate that could exceed 30,000 elephants for the year.

**Additional Quantities**

Ivory trade experts say that significant additional quantities of ivory go to Japan and the United Arab Emirates.

The hunting does not affect all areas of Africa equally. In Tanzania's Selous Game Reserve, where 21,000 square miles make it the largest in Africa, a recent aerial survey by Dr. Douglas-Hamilton counted more than 81,000 elephants. Since poor visibility tends to produce undercounts, the true figure may be even higher.

The survey in the Selous also showed that the elephants were not overcrowded, as is the case in other parts of East Africa because of the shrinking habitat areas, and did not appear to be destroying the local vegetation faster than it could regrow.

## Vatican Assails News Report About Its Rome Real Estate

VATICAN CITY, Jan. 5 (UPI).

The Vatican said today that an Italian magazine article claiming it owns one-quarter of Rome's real estate and is engaging in tax-free speculation was "irresponsible and scandalous."

It said a continuation of such press attacks could drive from Rome religious institutions that have brought the city prestige and money.

The Vatican newspaper L'Osservatore Romano, in a front page editorial by its vice-director, the Don Virgilio Levi, took issue with an article about Vatican wealth in last week's issue of the independent magazine L'Europeo. The magazine said the Vatican and Roman Catholic religious bodies owned 5,140 acres of land around Rome, 55 buildings in the city itself and a number of apartments.

It said many historic buildings owned by the Vatican have been sold tax-free for millions of dollars for conversion into modern hotels or blocks of office buildings.

**Distortion Cited**

"One can only express deprecation and protest over the irresponsibility with which L'Europeo, like a considerable part of the weekly and daily press, distorts almost maliciously whatever reports the Holy See, the Vatican and the Catholic Church, for the purpose of cheap, irresponsible scandal-mongering," L'Osservatore Romano said.

"Are they trying to drive away from Rome institutions that are channelling into this city the sympathy and love—not to speak of other things—of the entire world?" Rev. Levi asked.

He said that "several religious institutions" of friars and nuns have moved their headquarters from Rome to other countries.

Rev. Levi said tax-free status applied under the 1928 Lateran Pacts with Italy only to a few extraterritorial buildings housing Vatican departments.

**Regular Taxes**

He said other Vatican-owned buildings in Rome "are covered by regular real estate taxes, they are reported to the competent

authorities and the taxes are paid.

"Any changes in this field are made, not for speculative purposes but for functional needs or for charitable works," Rev. Levi said. He said the proceeds from the sale of the buildings were used to build part of a 99-apartment housing project that the Vatican donated to the city of Rome to resettle slum dwellers.

The British Safety Council has accused the state-run industry, British Gas, of doing nothing to avoid the leaks or alerting the public to them. The Safety Council said Britain's 135,000 miles of gas pipeline are deteriorating.

British Gas called the Safety Council's allegations "ill-informed and irresponsible" and said its safety record "is second to none." It added that it was thoroughly investigating each explosion.

The blast began last Wednesday during a snap of cold weather. The latest explosion occurred yesterday in the hamlet of Robertson, in Scotland's Lanarkshire County. It destroyed two adjoining houses and killed an 11-month-old girl.

**Economic Talks Seen By Giscard in Spring**

PARIS, Jan. 5 (AP).

President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing said in an informal conversation with reporters yesterday that the next big economic conference involving the United States, Japan, West Germany, Britain, France and Italy would take place around April, possibly in Britain, but in any case in Europe.

President-elect Jimmy Carter has said he probably would attend the next conference. The last meeting was held last year in Puerto Rico in June.

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The springboard for the petitioners is a 1976 report by a panel headed by former Columbia Broadcasting System president Frank Stanton. The report recommended creating an independent VOA under its own board of overseers and, in effect, dismantling USIA.

The Stanton panel urged creation of a semi-autonomous information and cultural affairs agency within the State Department that would carry out functions now divided between State and USIA. It also called for an office of policy information within State to handle other functions now belonging to USIA.

**Cultural-Exchange Unit**

A Carter insider indicated that such a plan would be given serious consideration, along with a proposal favored by some on Capitol Hill to give USIA's policy-oriented public-spokesman role to State and link State's present cultural activities in an independent cultural-exchange unit.

President-elect Jimmy Carter gave VOA petitioners added cheer when he said recently that he planned to study the Stanton report, which he had been told was a "superb report."

A congressional expert on international broadcasting believes there is a growing consensus that VOA should be independent, as the Stanton panel suggested, but both sides acknowledge that there will be a public fight before any change is made.

All sides agree that there is a need for VOA, and that at a cost of \$65 million a year it is a bargain.

Mr. Carter made the case along the lines that the professionals also use:

"It is détente with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe is to have real meaning, we must work toward a freer flow of information and ideas. The most valuable instruments this nation has for this purpose are our international radio stations: Voice of America,

the official radio voice of the U.S. government; Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which substitute for free press in those countries."

**Reach the Masses**

Mr. Giddens showed a visitor a map of the world shaded to show the countries without freedom of the press, in which four-fifths of the world's people live. "Only international broadcasts reach the masses, whether their governments will it or not," he said.

VOA's broadcasters, however, believe that because of interference from USIA officials providing policy guidance that inhibits them from reporting and commenting on the news, they have less credibility abroad than the international broadcaster they envy, the British Broadcasting Corporation.

News division chief Bernard Kamenski testified to the advisory commission that "the people who work for us are now so intimidated, so completely shocked, so completely hounded, that to present the cold, hard facts is a difficult task indeed."

Among the most often cited restrictions by VOA officials is the total ban on commenting on China. The ban results from Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's sensitivity over the Sino-U.S. relationship.

As a result, when chairman Mao Tse-tung died, VOA broadcast no commentary or analysis, and one VOA official who was traveling abroad said he was asked about the omission several times.

When the Transkei became independent Oct. 26, a VOA reporter was not allowed to attend because VOA "was told" his presence might imply U.S. recognition for the black enclave within South Africa, contrary to U.S. policy.

**At Variance With Policy**

A background piece on strategic arms limitation was killed because it contained a statement by the director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency,

Fred Tite, that was at variance with State Department policy.

VOA officials also say they are sometimes preoccupied, told to refrain from commenting on certain subjects.

Mr. Bastian, the man responsible for giving VOA policy guidance, conceded in an interview that his people have occasionally made mistakes, but added of VOA: "I don't think they appreciate how like the BBC we are." But he adds, U.S. government policy must be made clear by the radio.

The rejoinder from Mr. Giddens is: "All the talk in some circles that an independent Voice of America might make the broadcasters less anxious to serve the national interest is what we Southerners call hogwash."

The broadcasters say they only want to be free from harassment "nit-pickers" in the bureaucracy.

The bureaucrats reply that broadcasters paid by the U.S. government, traveling on official passports, with security clearance and access to classified documents, are not independent even if they are not controlled by any other government agency.

**Make It Clear**

In addition they argue, as Leonard Marks put it, that "When there is an official government policy, you have to transmit it and make it clear."

"The foreign audience," he added, "only hears one voice from America, and he believes when he hears something on VOA, it is what the U.S. government is saying."

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VOA reaches those listeners in 35 languages in addition to English and broadcasts 780 hours a week. No one knows how many people listen, but VOA estimates at least 50 million tune in each week.

## Dispute With VOA Continues

## USIA Fears Changes Under Carter

By Lee Lescaze

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5 (WP).

One of the more jittery of the U.S. government agencies waiting for their new masters to be named or to arrive is the United States Information Agency.

USIA is afraid that its new leaders may be intent on surgery—perhaps even dismembering the agency and assigning its pieces elsewhere in the interest of government reorganization.

It does not please top USIA officials that the Voice of America radio operation, the agency's largest component with about a third of its U.S. employees, has by its earlier agitation for independence, opened the door to reorganization.

The dispute over the role of VOA has been going on for years between VOA journalists and officers of USIA and the State Department, who believe VOA should be an instrument of U.S. policy.

Even free from such restrictions, however, the broadcasters say they would stop short of challenging U.S. government policies with the freedom exercised by commercial radio. They would remain, after all, U.S. government employees. The ambiguity of a news organization owned by a government with many policy lines to push won't go away.

The new head of the USIA is expected to be John Reinhardt, 56, now assistant secretary of state for public affairs. In 1971, he was the first black to be appointed as ambassador to Nigeria. Mr. Reinhardt started his Foreign Service career with the USIA in 1956 and remained there until 1971.

**It Speaks for the U.S.**

In the debate on the role of the VOA, Leonard Marks, a former director of the USIA, took the position in an interview that "its name describes its function. It speaks for the United States."

Walter Bastian, USIA deputy director (policy and plans), testified at a recent meeting of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information:

"We view our job as bringing our one and only public relations client, the United States of America, before the bar of public opinion."

VOA Director Kenneth Giddens argues that the interference and restrictions from Mr. Bastian's division are "a constant inhibition which is like being forced to write with a glove on your hand."

"The VOA needs greater freedom," he said in an interview. "The conditions became nearly intolerable to the writers and the editors because there are too many people in the kitchen helping with the cooking."

More than 500 VOA employees have signed a petition urging Congress and the Jimmy Carter administration to create an independent VOA. Mr. Giddens, who will leave this month after the longest incumbency as director, almost seven and a half years, supports them.

The springboard for the petitioners is a 1976 report by a panel headed by former Columbia Broadcasting System president Frank Stanton. The report recommended creating an independent VOA under its own board of overseers and, in effect, dismantling USIA.

The Stanton panel urged creation of a semi-autonomous information and cultural affairs agency within the State Department that would carry out functions now divided between State and USIA. It also called for an office of policy information within State to handle other functions now belonging to USIA.

On his way to meet with newsmen today, Mr. Orlov was detained by plainclothesmen and driven to the public prosecutor's office, where he was held for seven hours and released.

On Christmas Day, there was a series of searches of a sister group in Kiev, at which Mr. Orlov said material also had been planted: U.S. currency, pornographic postcards and a rifle.

Such measures are the strongest taken so far against members of the group, which was formed in May to monitor Soviet compliance with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki accords.

The reported moves against the dissident group followed strong action last month by authorities against a group of Jews who attempted to hold a symposium on the life in the Soviet Union. All 13 organizers and all but one of the 40 persons who were to read papers at the symposium were prevented by authorities from attending.

Three days later, security police snuffed out an attempt by the Jews to hold a silent vigil to imprisoned Jewish activists. Similar vigils had previously been allowed.

In October, a group of Jewish dissidents who held a sit-in at the Kremlin said they were taken into the woods by plainclothes police and beaten.

**Leningrad Pressure**

Dissidents in Leningrad, meanwhile, say they are subject to increasing pressure from authorities, and some of them, including poet Yulia Yomanskaya and Jewish activist Yuli Levin, have been jailed. And Leningrad dissident Vladimir Borsov was placed in a mental institution on Christmas Day.

There is no consensus among dissidents as to why sterner measures are being taken against them, or what it may portend.

Dissident leader Andrei Sakharov viewed the move against the human rights group as "a test of the Carter administration."

He said a main reason for this at this time is to test the new American President to see how far he will go on human rights.

**United Arab Emirates Gets a New Cabinet**

CAIRO, Jan. 5 (AP).

Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahyan, President of the United Arab Emirates, has appointed a new 20-member Cabinet under Sheikh Maktoum bin Rashid, Qatar's official news agency reported.

It said the new Cabinet was designed to bring some younger men into the government.

the official radio voice of the U.S. government; Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which substitute for free press in those countries."

**Reach the Masses**

Mr. Giddens showed a visitor a map of the world shaded to show the countries without freedom of the press, in which four-fifths of the world's people live. "Only international broadcasts reach the masses, whether their governments will it or not," he said.

VOA's broadcasters, however, believe that because of interference from USIA officials providing policy guidance that inhibits them from reporting and commenting on the news, they have less credibility abroad than the international broadcaster they envy, the British Broadcasting Corporation.

News division chief Bernard Kamenski testified to the advisory commission that "the people who work for us are now so intimidated, so completely shocked, so completely hounded, that to present the cold, hard facts is a difficult task indeed."

Among the most often cited restrictions by VOA officials is the total ban on commenting on China. The ban results from Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's sensitivity over the Sino-U.S. relationship.

As a result, when chairman Mao Tse-tung died, VOA broadcast no commentary or analysis, and one VOA official who was traveling abroad said he was asked about the omission several times.

When the Transkei became independent Oct. 26, a VOA reporter was not allowed to attend because VOA "was told" his presence might imply U.S. recognition for the black enclave within South Africa, contrary to U.S. policy.

**At Variance With Policy**

A background piece on strategic arms limitation was killed because it contained a statement by the director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency,

Fred Tite, that was at variance with State Department policy.

VOA officials also say they are sometimes preoccupied, told to refrain from commenting on certain subjects.

Mr. Bastian, the man responsible for giving VOA policy guidance, conceded in an interview that his people have occasionally made mistakes, but added of VOA: "I don't think they appreciate how like the BBC we are." But he adds, U.S. government policy must be made clear by the radio.

The rejoinder from Mr. Giddens is: "All the talk in some circles that an independent Voice of America might make the broadcasters less anxious to serve the national interest is what we Southerners call hogwash."

The broadcasters say they only want to be free from harassment "nit-pickers" in the bureaucracy.

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**Make It Clear**

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**Soviet Crackdowns Indicate Tougher Stand on Dissidents**

MOSCOW, Jan. 5 (AP).

A crackdown this week on the Soviet Union's most active dissident group was the latest in a series of official actions that point to a toughening stand against dissent.

Members of the unofficial human rights group told newsmen today that searches of the apartments of three members the night before was an indication that authorities plan to clamp down on their activities.

At the time of the searches, the Tass press agency issued a story saying that evidence had been found linking the three—Yuri Orlov, Alek Ginzburg and Lynda Alexeyeva—to an anti-Soviet Western group, the People's Labor Alliance. The dissidents denied this.

That accusation could lead to the serious charge of anti-Soviet activity. In addition, Mr. Ginzburg said that 1,000 deutsche marks and about \$100 were planted in his apartment by the searches. It is illegal to possess unauthorized foreign currency.

**Orlov Detained**

On his way to meet with newsmen today, Mr. Orlov was detained by plainclothesmen and driven to the public prosecutor's office, where he was



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Rep. Thomas (Tip) O'Neill smiles amid applause from colleagues after being sworn in as Speaker of the House in Washington as the 95th Congress began sessions.

## News Analysis

### Congress Leaders Suited to Carter

By David E. Rosenbaum

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5 (AP)—Protocol and political good sense required Jimmy Carter to stay neutral in the congressional leadership races, but now that these elections are over, the President-elect must be pleased with the outcome.

Robert Byrd, who was elected Senate majority leader yesterday, and Thomas O'Neill Jr. and Jim Wright, who were picked by Democratic representatives last month to be speaker of the House and House majority leader, are highly partisan Democrats, with O'Neill serving as an oppositionist. They have served as oppositionists, not capitalists, most of their political careers, conceding that the congressional ship sailed smoothly while leaving it to others to start the course.

Sen. Hubert Humphrey and Rep. Philip Burton, who might have won leadership positions had circumstances been different, are outspoken advocates with finely developed stands on most political issues. As such, they might have challenged Mr. Carter's positions on such touchy matters as amnesty for war resisters and aid to the underprivileged, and they surely would have contested the President's hammerlock on national political attention.

Sen. Byrd and Rep. O'Neill and Wright reached positions of influence not with heavy species but with heavy favors. It is inconceivable in the view of most people in Capitol Hill that they would ever stand up to a Democratic president because of deeply held convictions the way that Mike Mansfield, the former Senate majority leader, opposed President Lyndon Johnson's Vietnam policy or the way that Sen. Bayh, the late speaker, opposed President John Kennedy's civil rights initiatives.

Had President Ford and not Mr. Carter been elected in November, the Democrats might well have picked other leaders. Rep. O'Neill had the speakership looked up before the presidential election, but there is a good chance that Sen. Humphrey would have defeated Sen. Byrd and that Rep. Burton would have beaten Rep. Wright.

Likewise, it is doubtful that Sen. Howard Baker Jr. would have defeated Sen. Robert Griffin, as he did yesterday, for the position of Senate Republican leader. His party had controlled the White House since 1969.

The role of party leaders in Congress is different when their party is in the presidency than when the opposition is in the White House, and the senators and representatives surely were mindful of the difference when they elected leaders this year.

With a Democratic as president, the politicians in the party wanted technicians, not politicians. They wanted men who knew the congressional rules and procedures, who would be able to guide the president's legislative program, who could take soundings in Congress and report their findings without coloration to the president and who had personal clout they would be willing to call for the president, Sen. Byrd and Rep. Wright fit that pattern.

When the opposition is in the White House, however, senators and representatives want party leaders who develop policy and, more important, serve as party spokesmen. That seemed in large part to explain the election of Sen. Baker.

The Tennessee Republican is, as he exhibited during the Senate Watergate hearings, an accomplished performer on television. He can turn a phrase and crack a quip as well as any member of the Senate. He is deft at using a scalpel to cut his opponents and then charming them with a smile.

Defender, Not Attacker  
Sen. Griffin, on the other hand, is a backroom manipulator, much like Sen. Byrd. He appears on the surface as dour as Sen. Baker appears personable. He had no apparent defending the programs of Richard Nixon and President Ford, but his colleagues apparently felt that he would not perform as well on the attack.

In his book, "A Political Education," Harry McPherson, once an aide to Lyndon Johnson, explains how in an earlier day the role of the party leaders changed when the presidency changed hands. Mr. McPherson was discussing the events of 1961, when John Kennedy became president and Sen. Mansfield replaced Mr.

Johnson as majority leader in the Senate. "The initiative of government had shifted to the White House, to a president who promised forward motion instead of retrenchment, progress instead of vetoes," Mr. McPherson wrote.

Kennedy, he continued, "needed a leader in the Senate who would serve as a conduit for his programs—not an independent source of power who wished to write his own. Johnson was the ideal opposition leader; Mansfield would be the perfect team player."

In fact, Sen. Mansfield served 15 years as majority leader, 8 of them under Democratic presidents and the rest under Republicans. He held the job longer than any senator in history. Although he broke with Mr. Johnson over the war in Vietnam, Sen. Mansfield succeeded in steering the president's domestic program through Congress.

After the Republicans took over the presidency, Sen. Mansfield remained esteemed as a person, but he was criticized at times for not being forceful enough as an oppositionist spokesman. It was not his style to take the offensive. It is not Sen. Byrd's style either, and that is a main reason why he was elected yesterday. It is also why those in the Carter camp appeared so dejected.

### U.S. Hospitals Assail Limits On Hiring Foreign Graduates

By Ronald Sullivan

NEW YORK, Jan. 5 (AP)—A new federal law that will drastically limit the recruiting by hospitals of graduates of foreign medical schools was assailed yesterday as posing a serious threat to the effective delivery of hospital care. The criticism of the law, which goes into effect on Monday, was made in interviews with officials of municipal and voluntary hospitals.

The limitation is part of a comprehensive law approved by Congress in October that is designed to enable U.S. medical schools to produce enough physicians to meet national needs by 1980. It does not apply to Americans who have graduated from medical schools abroad.

Because U.S. schools have not been meeting these needs, hospitals have gradually come to depend on foreign medical school graduates to staff their intern and residency programs. As a consequence, foreign-trained physicians make up 30 per cent of all interns and residents in the United States.

In New York State, the foreign ratio is much higher: 52 per cent, with even higher percentages in municipal hospitals and in those that have no affiliation with a nearby medical school.

Prevent New Recruiting  
While the new law would not affect 16,000 alien physicians now on hospital staffs, it would effectively prevent hospitals from recruiting others for their new intern and residency programs that begin next July.

## Four Advisers to Stay On

### Vance Staffing Inner Circle With Key Aides of Kissinger

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5 (AP)—Secretary of State-designate Cyrus Vance is putting together a staff that depends heavily on key aides to his predecessor, Henry Kissinger.

With his inner circle nearly complete, Mr. Vance has selected four of Mr. Kissinger's chief advisers to stay on. They are Philip Habib, under secretary for political affairs; Alfred A. Hartman, assistant secretary for the Middle East; Arthur Hartman, assistant secretary for Europe, and William Schaefele Jr., assistant secretary for Africa.

None of the appointments has been formally announced, but all have been confirmed by sources close to Mr. Vance and Mr. Kissinger.

In addition, Mr. Vance has picked Warren Christopher, a 51-year-old Los Angeles attorney, to be deputy secretary of state. (President-elect Jimmy Carter formally named him yesterday.) Mr. Christopher, who has no foreign policy experience, was deputy attorney general during the last two years of the Lyndon Johnson administration. He worked with Mr. Vance in 1967, when they represented the president during the Detroit race riots.

The new under secretary for economics will be Richard Cooper, an economics professor at Yale who once was considered by Mr. Kissinger for the post.

Besides the four aides still employed by Mr. Kissinger, Mr. Vance has selected other key personnel for important jobs who worked for the secretary in past years.

Richard Holbrooke, 55, will be the new assistant secretary for Asia. He served under Mr. Kissinger on the National Security Council and earlier was a Foreign Service officer in Vietnam.

In recent years, Mr. Holbrooke has worked for the Carnegie Endowment for Peace as editor of the Foreign Policy Quarterly. He was a chief diplomatic adviser to Mr. Carter during the fall campaign.

### Puerto Rican Official Hints Ford Hurt Statehood Cause

By David Vidal

SAN JUAN, Jan. 5 (NYT)—President Ford probably hurt the cause of statehood by proposing that it be granted to Puerto Rico without previously consulting island opinion, Balasara Corrada said. The official who will represent the new proposed statehood government in the U.S. Congress, has said.

Meanwhile, Gov. Carlos Romero Barcelo held his first meeting with the 12 persons in what will eventually be a 14-member cabinet and said that political status was not even considered.

Commonwealth Status  
In the first indication of how the new administration would handle the matter raised by Mr. Ford should it reach Congress, Mr. Corrada, the resident commissioner in Washington, said he would back no statehood initiative that was not based on a prior mandate through a plebiscite. His opposition would virtually assure the defeat of any

### Nurses Give Nursing Care 'Low B' Rating

NEW YORK, Jan. 5 (AP)—A survey of 10,000 nurses in North America found that 88 per cent would not like to be patients in their own hospitals.

The survey, reported in this month's issue of the magazine Nursing 77, rated nursing care in the United States and Canada at a "low B" grade. The smaller the hospital, the survey indicated, the less the responding nurses thought of the care.

As reasons why such care is less than excellent, nurses blamed insufficient staff, the burden of paperwork and other obligations that took time away from attending to patients.

As for nursing homes, 55 per cent of responding nurses who worked in such institutions said they would not want to be patients where they worked.

### Panama Canal Tightens Checks On Oil Tankers

BALEBOA, Canal Zone, Jan. 5 (AP)—Tightening safety measures after recent tanker spillages, the Panama Canal Company yesterday and served notice to world oil transporters that vessels will be carefully scrutinized from now on before being allowed through the waterway.

A company spokesman said the Greek-flag tanker Lykometis was denied passage because it was leaking oil when it reached Colon, at the Caribbean end of the canal. The Lykometis was bound from the Venezuelan port of Amunay to Acapulco in El Salvador, carrying a cargo of petroleum.

### Oil Tanker Is Missing Off Northeast of U.S.

BOSTON, Jan. 5 (AP)—A search has been expended for a missing Panamanian tanker with a crew of 38 persons and a cargo of 8 million gallons of oil.



Lucy Benson

### Woman Gets No. 5 Post At State Dept.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5 (NYT)—President-elect Jimmy Carter has chosen Lucy Benson as the State Department official charged with controlling arms sales abroad and curbing nuclear proliferation.

It was learned yesterday that Mrs. Benson, 49, a former president of the League of Women Voters and a Massachusetts political figure, would be nominated by Mr. Carter as under secretary of state for security assistance.

She has, by her record, no prior experience in foreign affairs, but fits the desire of Secretary of State-designate Cyrus Vance to have some new faces in important department jobs.

At the same time, it was learned that Zbigniew Brzezinski, the designated national security adviser to Mr. Carter, has begun a large-scale personnel sweep of the National Security Council staff, cutting the size of the body by one-third.

Only a Few  
Brzezinski has ordered that the council staff be reduced from 45 professionals to 30 and has informed those on the staff that only a few would be retained. His deputy is said to be David Aaron, a former Foreign Service officer who most recently has served as international affairs adviser to Vice-President-elect Walter Mondale.

Under Henry Kissinger, the National Security Council staff grew significantly in size and became, in Mr. Brzezinski's view, a "mini State Department." Its size was maintained about the same under Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, who has headed the staff since November, 1975.

Mrs. Benson was a national president of the League of Women Voters from 1968 to 1976. Mr. Carter appointed her to an advisory panel after his election to help select officials for his administration.

In the past, the under secretary for security assistance specialized in directing conventional arms sales and grants, also financial grants known as security support assistance to countries such as Israel.

Mr. Vance has told Mrs. Benson that, in addition, she would have responsibility in the effort to insure that nuclear energy is used only for peaceful purposes.

### Union Leadership Against Sorensen As CIA Director

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5 (AP)—The leadership of the AFL-CIO attempted to dissuade President-elect Jimmy Carter from appointing Theodore Sorensen as director of Central Intelligence last month, union officials and others said yesterday.

Under Mr. Hoffmann's timetable, cadets caught in the scandal will not be readmitted until after a year's suspension. That means that most of the ousted cadets will not be allowed to return until late June or early July.

### Moscow Warns Madrid Newsman

MOSCOW, Jan. 5 (Reuters)—Spanish journalist Ramon Pedros of the Madrid daily newspaper ABC said here that he had been warned by Soviet authorities over an article which they regarded as offensive to Soviet patriotism.

### Carter Class Reunion Set for White House

PLAINFIELD, N.J., Jan. 5 (AP)—President-elect Jimmy Carter will keep a campaign promise two days after his inauguration by playing host to his high school graduating class in a reunion at the White House.

## Only 42 Protests Filed

### U.S. Candidates Found Little To Complain About in 1976

By Karen DeYoung

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5 (UPI)—The election year was the blindest on record for campaign mudslinging, smears, distortions and general dirty tricks, according to a group that monitors such complaints.

The Fair Campaign Practices Committee, a private, nonpartisan clearinghouse for candidates' allegations of dirty campaigning, reported that complaints in last year's campaigns were at a new low, both in number and in substance, since the committee began monitoring campaigns in 1964.

There was Democrat Norma Bartle's charge that her Republican congressional opponent in New York's 30th District race, victorious Republican incumbent Robert McSwen, said she was "programmed" by her husband, and that a McSwen aide had called her a vulgar name.

There was John Burcham's allegation that workers for his opponent, Democratic Rep. Gladys Spellman of Maryland's 5th District, had lied their way into one of his news conferences and "violated the sanctity" of his home.

But compared with mudslinging years of 1960 and 1964, last year's campaign was conspicuous for its lack of what H.I. Mencken called "booh-munging," or candidate appeals based on emotion rather than reason.

There were only 42 candidate complaints, compared with 57 during the 1974 election campaign, and 84 in 1972. Also the types of complaints filed have undergone a radical transformation, with personal attacks and allegations of corrupt practices—which 10 years ago made up more than half of the filed complaints—dropping to an all-time low number.

In recent years, distortions, misrepresentations of voting records and stands on issues have become the most popular way to malign a political opponent. Last year, nearly every charge filed with the Fair Campaign Practices Committee involved some sort of record twisting.

"We do not make judgments," said committee director Robert Sidman. So, while most complaints filed include demands that the committee investigate the charge and, if possible, censure or at least point a finger of guilt, the committee does not. Even if it did, it has no power to punish or prevent practices.

Flap-Fong Process  
The committee notifies the accused of the complaint and asks for a response. The response is turned over to the complainant, who may then re-issue the complaint if he or she is not satisfied.

If either party remains dissatisfied after this process, mediation by the American Arbitration Association may be requested—a

### 151 at West Point Are Barred From A Swift Reentry

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5 (AP)—Army Secretary Martin Hoffmann said today that he will not permit the early readmission of West Point cadets ousted in the recent cheating scandal—the worst in the history of the U.S. Military Academy.

He said, however, that he will adopt almost all of the recommendations made Dec. 15 by a panel headed by former astronaut Frank Borman, now chief executive of Eastern Air Lines.

The Borman commission had recommended the reinstatement "as soon as possible" of the 151 cadets implicated in honor-code violations since the homework cheating scandal surfaced last spring.

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### Time Marches On

ROME, Jan. 5 (UPI)—If you dial 16 on a Rome telephone, a recording advises you that the number to call to get the exact time has been changed to 161. If you dial 161, unless you do it exceedingly fast, the same recording interrupts you again after the first two digits.



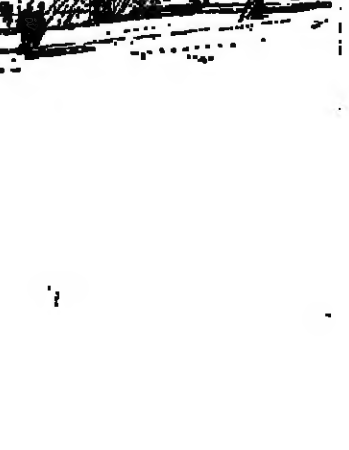
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## China Watching

China under Mao Tse-tung became such a pivotal element in the world balance of power—particularly in what many termed the Washington-Moscow-Peking triangle—that its evolution since Mao's death four months ago should concern the United States deeply. Will China make it as a cohesive power? Who will be the new rulers? Will they patch things up with the Russians or even revive the Soviet-Chinese alliance of the 1950s?

The answers are far from settled, but enough has happened since Mao's death and enough information has filtered out so that at least a preliminary evaluation is possible. The Chinese themselves have provided all the evidence needed to document a merciless struggle for power before and more intensely after Mao's death. The emerging faction is led by Hua Guo-feng, now named chairman of the Chinese Communist party and already the subject of a worshipful buildup among his people. Hua seems to be backed by the military high command and by many of the surviving figures from the days of Chou En-lai and is usually thought of as a "moderate." The fragmentary evidence suggests that his view of Chinese Communism is weighted toward the secular rather than the theological component of Maoism, and that he values such mundane goals as raising the standard of living of his desperately poor people with, among other things, modern technology from abroad and the businesslike relations with the United States that this implies.

The group that he has defeated—and termed "the gang of four"—was headed and symbolized by Mao's widow, Chiang Ching. It is considered "leftist" because this faction was thought to put Maoist revolutionary ideology ahead of practical considerations. What the Chiang faction might

have done if it had won the struggle is anyone's guess. It is useful to remember in these matters that after Lenin's death Stalin took Trotsky's program right after he took his political head.

At the moment, Hua is sounding a full retreat from the fanaticism of the great proletarian cultural revolution of a decade ago. He is promising his people "freedom politically and prosperity economically." And in a throwback to Mao's most conciliatory period, his new year promise was that "a hundred schools of thought will contend and a hundred flowers bloom in science and culture." We shall see whether this is a case of invoking the late Chairman's quotations to dethrone the Chairman or to imitate him. Blooming flowers tend to invite plucking.

It is even too early to assume that Hua will certainly be Mao's successor. There is obviously a great deal of unease throughout China. The "leftist" forces evidently fear a general purge in which millions may be removed from their regional or local power positions. Hua has encouraged the fear and encountered resistance. Not surprisingly, there appears to be a fair amount of disorder in various parts of China, disorder that has required military intervention in some places.

We can only watch this convulsion, but not indifferently. A China divided into warring principalities would tempt the Russians into meddling, or more, beckoning the United States to countervailing intervention. There is no cause for joy over this turmoil in a totalitarian state. Whatever we may think of the values of Chinese Communism, there are self-interested reasons to hope for the emergence of a strong, unified and independent China and to express that hope in quiet ways.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Congress Under New Management

First it was Teddy Kennedy. Now it is Hubert Humphrey. Robert Byrd of West Virginia—dour, efficient, politically and temperamentally cautious—bids fair to win the title of liberal giant-killer of Capitol Hill. Sen. Byrd, who was chosen Democratic majority leader of the Senate in a contest with Sen. Humphrey, moved up from a job (that of Democratic whip) which he had already taken away from Sen. Kennedy a few years back. It is true that in each of these contests there were special circumstances that worked to the disadvantage of his opponents. But when you have said that you still have not accounted for Mr. Byrd's remarkable success in a political environment that, ideologically speaking, appeared to be much more hospitable to a Kennedy or a Humphrey than a Byrd.

So what happened—and what does it mean? We will mention briefly a few well-known elements that contributed to the outcome: Mr. Humphrey's age and illness and the disorganization of his campaign for the job; Mr. Byrd's head start in the race, his meticulousness as a campaigner and strategist and his reputation among his colleagues as a fellow who can make the trains run on time. The reason we don't mean to dwell on any of this is that we think it is important but not crucial to an understanding of what occurred. Senate Democrats of every political stripe joined together to select a leader whose style amounted to a ratification of the particular independence they have acquired over the past several years.

That independence is owing to a lot of things—the breakdown of the rigid old Senate structure, the disappearance of some of the rigid old committee chairmen and the relatively complaisant leadership style of the outgoing leader, Mike Mansfield. But whatever may have accounted for this new way of Senate life, it is plain that a majority of its majority likes it. Sen. Byrd is generally expected to continue to make the Senate a more convenient and agreeable place, and a less harried one for his flock. It has been supposed that he will do more for—and ask less of—the Democratic members than Mr. Humphrey might have. In one sense, then, you could almost say that

Democrats in the Senate don't want a leader, at least not a leader in the policy-making, party-spokesman mold.

From Jimmy Carter's point of view, this is probably a good thing. We mean no mortal affront to Sen. Byrd, to the new Senate whip, Alan Cranston of California, or to Messrs. Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. and Jim Wright of the Democratic leadership in the House when we say that this is hardly a congressional team known for its capacity to articulate great issues or to stir the soul of the Democratic national constituency. Interestingly, the Senate Republicans—in one of those quiet, coup-like things for which their congressional minions are justly famous—did narrowly upset the favored candidate (Robert Griffin of Michigan) for a more personable, outgoing and politically articulate candidate for minority leader, Howard Baker of Tennessee. But our guess is that the Baker-Griffin contest had (and will continue to have) much more to do with national Republican politics and their internal maneuverings than with Senate business or with the conflict between a Democratic administration and Republicans on the Hill.

In fact, we will take our guess one dangerous step further: If there is to be struggle of a large and serious kind between Congress and the Democratic administration, we suspect it will be between Democrats and Democrats—between those majorities which have just chosen Mr. Byrd and Mr. O'Neill to be their leaders and the Carter administration. Yes...we know...everything is sweetness and light now. But the needs of the legislators as the mid-term elections come nigh and the capacity of the administration to meet those needs may be two very different things. We mention this prospect because it will be then that the all-purpose value of the Senate Democrats' choice of leaders will be put to the test. Sen. Byrd may be just the fellow for a period of harmony and peace between the Carter White House and the Democratic Congress. Forgive us our sportsman cynicism—the question is whether he will still be the right fellow when the honeymoon is over.

THE WASHINGTON POST

## International Opinion

### The State of Britain

Britain lurches into 1977 a battered but by no means a beaten nation. There has been little good news in 1976, and it is certain that nobody is expecting miracles in the new year... However, the British achievement in combining order and freedom

looks pretty impressive, especially to the hundreds of millions of people all over the world who live in fear of their governments. Industrially, the British have been one of the most inventive and successful of nations. The qualities that made us so have not disappeared. We need to rediscover them.

—From the Daily Express (London).

## In the International Edition

### Seventy-Five Years Ago

JANUARY 6, 1902  
DENVER—Leading scientific authorities assert that whether the Marconi system or some other will ultimately be adopted is uncertain but do think that wireless telegraphy of some sort will almost certainly come into practical use. They think it will require so little capital compared with what is now expended for telegraph wires and poles, that it will inevitably reduce the cost of telegraphing far below what it is today.

### Fifty Years Ago

JANUARY 6, 1927  
ROME—Winston Churchill, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, arrived here this evening. He intends to have several conversations with the Italian leader Benito Mussolini and also with Conte Volpi, the Italian Minister of Finance. Afterward he is expected to go to Malta, where he will spend a few days vacationing, and will then proceed to Eze-sur-Mer, on the French Riviera, to be the guest of the Duchess of Marlborough.



"I Resolve To Give Up Shmokin' in 1977."

## The Kremlin and Carter—A Glint of Steel

By Victor Zorza

WASHINGTON.—The glint of steel which shows through the exchanges between Brezhnev and Carter has been buried under so many layers of diplomatic civility that it is hardly visible. But while Brezhnev keeps assuring Carter that the Kremlin will bear with the new administration as it settles down, he is also making it clear that Moscow cannot wait forever. While Carter acknowledges with thanks the first part of Brezhnev's message, he is also making it clear that, should the Kremlin try anything, he will be ready.

The Kremlin message passed largely unnoticed when it appeared last month in a Pravda article (JET, Dec. 13) by Georgi Arbatov, the head of the Soviet Institute of U.S. Studies, who said that the new President would of course be faced by many claims on his attention. This was "only natural." But there were also "urgent problems" in U.S.-Soviet relations, and their settlement "must not be postponed indefinitely."

The time factor, he explained, was very important. During the election campaign, "plates and dishes were broken," and this would have to be paid for. Additional efforts would therefore be necessary, he said, to make up for lost time. In politics, opportunities could not simply be "directed" for possible action later, he said, but would be lost if not used at the right time. Therefore the prospects of success in U.S.-Soviet relations "depend largely on the opportune settlement of urgent problems."

### Indirect Warning

He could have put it more bluntly by saying that failure to settle these urgent problems would preclude the successful development of U.S.-Soviet relations, because this is what his message amounted to. It was a warning, a shot across the bows of the Carter administration even before it got launched on its course. This is not something that the Kremlin would wish to say in the negative press. You cannot, Arbatov explained, ride a bicycle and stay in place at the same time. To make progress, you have to move.

Arbatov's persistence in trying to get his message across deserves the reward of publicity—but the message itself deserves the most careful scrutiny. If there is no progress on SALT by the time the provisional agreement runs out by next October, he said in Pravda, a new and more dangerous round of the arms race may begin.

I would regard this as no more than a statement of the obvious, but there are those in Washington who would read it as a threat, particularly in the light of his remark in the press interview, that "we have two choices." The Soviet Union, he said, could either seek détente and equal security under a SALT agreement, "or tighten our belt and build up a defense power which, in our case, will prevent a recurrence of the situation we faced in 1941," when Hitler attacked Russia.

To pose the Kremlin's alternatives in terms of such stark choices suggests that Arbatov, one of the leading doves in the internal Soviet defense debates, is now finding it necessary to pay more heed to the hawks than he did in the past. The "either-or" approach he uses in this case is, indeed, more in tune with the crude arguments often put forward by the most extreme hawks in both Moscow and Washington than with the subtle, sophisticated thinking of arms-control supporters in both countries.

Moscow is worried. Both the Kremlin and Kielevsk believed that the SALT agreement negotiated during the past year was virtually ready for signing, but Carter wants to introduce a number of changes into it which could greatly complicate the negotiations. Carter has made it clear that his administration will take a firm stand on the human rights which Brezhnev promised to respect under the Helsinki declaration. Arbatov is sounding the alarm on this too. The countries attending the Belgrade conference this summer, which will discuss the implemen-

tation of the Helsinki declaration, should not go there, he says, "with mutual claims and complaints." During the election, Carter called for a tougher policy towards Russia than that followed by the Ford administration. For the most part, the Kremlin pretended not to hear, but Arbatov argues that real damage has been done. The election campaign, he says, undermined public support for détente and generated distrust towards the Soviet Union, and this "will leave its mark for some time."

The Soviet press usually publishes only those public opinions which show the growth of friendly U.S. feelings towards Russia, but Arbatov takes a different tack. He cites a poll showing increased American distrust of the Soviet Union, and greater public support for military expenditure and for the acquisition of U.S. military superiority.

The Kremlin is expecting trouble from Carter, and Arbatov is making it clear—both to Carter and to people in the Soviet Union—that Moscow will be ready when it comes.

## Lance and the Monsters

By James Reston

WASHINGTON.—Bert Lance, the big friendly Georgian who will head the Office of Management and Budget in the next administration, occupies Suite No. 3449 at the Treasury Department and talks with cautious modesty about the hard work ahead for Jimmy Carter and company. Other than having "one foot in the 1977 budget and the other in the '78 budget," he says, all he has to worry about is reorganizing the federal government. But even confronted by these two monsters he doesn't sound off balance.

He is relaxed but realistic about the magnitude of his assignment, and says maybe Carter's main problem in the coming months will be that he will expect more progress in a hurry than the complexities of the problems and the machinery of the government will allow.

By Feb. 15, Lance anticipates that the Congress will give Carter the statutory authority required to reorganize the government. Meanwhile, he will be going to Plains with the other top economic advisers on Friday to discuss the budget, and begin studying President Ford's budget next Monday when it comes from the president.

His current guess is that Ford will come in with about a \$60-billion deficit and that by the time it is amended by the Carter team the budget deficit may be in excess of \$70 billion.

"This will have to be explained very carefully to the American people," he observes, and the reorganization will require a great deal of explanation in Congress as well.

James T. Lynn, the present director of OMB, agrees with the need for reorganization, but feels it cannot be effective without a parallel reorganization of the congressional committees, and a reform of many programs as well. He points out that there are now so many different departments and agencies of the executive and so many committees of the Congress dealing with the energy crisis, that top officials of the Ford administration testified 270 times on Capitol Hill within a single period of 15 months.

Most major problems today, Lynn observes, are not national problems or foreign problems, but cut across the responsibilities of several departments and agencies and do not fit into the present committee structure of the House and Senate.

Whether you are dealing with energy policy, or environment, policy, or exports, or drug abuse, Lynn says, you have to have interdepartmental committees of the executive and probably task forces from various committees of the Congress to analyze the facts and propose legislation.

But this, he points out, also cuts across the normal authority of the congressional committee chairmen, whose enthusiasm for sharing control over such subjects is not unbounded. Lance and Lynn will be talking a great deal more about these dilemmas in the next couple of weeks than they have in the past, but the obvious fact is that they will scarcely have time to define the problems before the inauguration on Jan. 20.

Bert Lance doesn't minimize these problems, but he is clearly

not a worrier, and he has no intention of making sweeping changes at OMB until he has had time to study its professional staff. He recalls that this was his cautious approach when he helped reorganize the Georgia government under Gov. Carter, and while Lynn has been too busy with the Ford budget to give much time to Lance, cooperation between the two staffs is expected to improve once the Ford budget is completed next week.

### His Position

Lance talks as if he were just one of the principal aides to the President-elect, who will be sitting in on these interdepartmental "clusters" on the budget along with Mike Blumenthal at Treasury and Charlie Schmitz, the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. But the power of the director of OMB is in direct relationship to his influence with the President, and on this ground he is at least the first among equals.

He is highly pleased with the atmosphere that has attended the pre-cabinet meetings on the budget so far. He is confident the interdepartmental committees will be able to reach common agreement on the options and recommendations sent to the president. The conversation has been frank and easy, he says, because these men "seem to have no ego," which it truly will break a tradition that goes back to Hamilton and Jefferson.

What is refreshing about Lance, however, is his quiet confidence that, whatever the cabinet tussles of the past and the policy and institutional differences with the Congress, the problems will prove to be manageable.

He will not be a barrier between the president and other members of the cabinet. As director of OMB, he will review their departmental requests, but they will have access to the president to appeal any changes he might make.

Also, Lance emphasizes Carter's mastery of detail, intellectual capacity to control his own budget, and personal ability to get strong characters to work together. Nobody will win a fight for Jimmy Carter's pleasure, Lance insists, for whenever two sides try, both will lose. "All this is said in the gentlest way," Lance dressed in what he calls his "funeral suit," but there is nothing funeral about him. He looks as if he could cut a budget with a smile, and the chances are he will have to try it before long.

## Letters

### Championion

Your report (JET, Dec. 28) about the lady who, claiming to have deciphered a musical setting to the Hebrew Old Testament, stated that she was being compared in France to "Championion...who deciphered Egyptian hieroglyphics with the Rosetta Stone." I had always understood that the principal credit for that deciphering belonged to an Englishman named Young.

Does your paper have to perpetuate French chauvinistic attitudes? Another point in the report that interested me was the statement that "three other volumes of the Bible appeared in the 9th and 10th centuries... one in Leningrad." With music by Shostakovich?

A.D. SIMONS.

Geneva.  
Editor's note: The uncharismatic Columbia Encyclopedia says: "The Rosetta Stone gave Championion, Thomas Young and others the key to Egyptian hieroglyphics." The equally uncharismatic Encyclopedia Britannica says: "The celebrated Rosetta Stone which supplied Championion with the key for decipherment of the ancient monuments of Egypt..."

### Bunk

The only comment that a lowly certified yachtsman like me can make on Capt. Papadopoulos's testimony (JET, Dec. 29) is "bunk."

First, the magnetic compass is not something "primitive." It has steered countless ships in the last

century, and as far as I am concerned, it has guided my boat from Chesapeake to Kristiansund (300 miles) with about 3 miles error at the arrival after 56 hours and no sights whatsoever. Of course, compasses have to be checked regularly for error (but that is basic seamanship...)

Second, it would be extremely strange if the Argo Merchant did not have radio direction finding equipment, permitting it, with less precision than the sextant, or even aids like Loran or Omega, to establish the ship's position, especially so near the coast, where there are numerous radio beacons.

Third, even if there was no RIF, but a functioning MF radiotelephone, it would have been possible to call the Coast Guard and ask them to take bearings on the ship's transmitter which would have given the same result.

Fourth, a line of soundings can also be used to establish a position, but it requires detailed charts of the area. Did the Argo Merchant have them?

My conclusion is that ships under flags of convenience are a menace, and that this menace is compounded when they are tankers. IMCO had better start acting fast!

JEAN SOMMERHAUSEN.

Brussels.

### Carter's Choices

Anthony Lewis complains that Carter's cabinet choices are old familiar faces. A consistent reader of Lewis's columns knows that this is surely Kissinger's fault.

A. DUVAUD.

Geneva.

## GOP Poser:

## Nonprivate

## Enterprise

By George F. Will

WASHINGTON.—The Republican party's principal problem may be that its principal idea is increasingly dubious. The Republican "idea" is that the economy conforms to the conventional model of profit-making private enterprise. But the inadequacy of this model is dramatized, with some statistical flamboyance, by Ed Ginsberg, an economist writing in the December issue of *Scientific American*.

Ginsberg believes this critical question is: What proportion of the economy's output is accounted for by activities outside the private, profit-oriented sector? His critical phrase is "accounted for," and he makes the most of its vagueness to reach the startling conclusion: One U.S. worker in three is "accounted for" by the "not-for-profit sector."

The generally accepted figure is that five out of six jobs are "based" in the private sector. But Ginsberg argues, plausibly, that it makes no sense to isolate direct government employment and call everything else private. When missiles and naval ships are manufactured by Lockheed and Litton, the employees of those firms are, technically, in the private sector. But their wages come from government, and government absorbs their output. So Ginsberg is right when he argues that the private sector, at least as represented by such industries, "is not all that private."

But having made this valid point, Ginsberg skates onto thin ice:

"For years the Army has manufactured some of its ammunition in its own arsenal, whose workers have always been counted as government employees. It is hard to see the logic of classifying those who work for defense contractors as belonging in the private sector any more than the arsenal workers are being in it, since their output is absorbed by government."

"This principle of classification extends far beyond defense, seeking to draw realistic boundaries between the private and the not-for-profit sectors we believe all employment generated by government purchases of all kinds in the private sector must be counted as part of the not-for-profit sector."

On the basis of this arbitrary demarcation, he accepts that government purchases from the private sector amount to at least 15 per cent of gross national product and "represent" 8.4 per cent of total employment. Adding that to direct government employment (15.8 per cent), he concludes that "about one American worker in four depends for his job on the activities of government, directly or indirectly."

Clearly, some exaggeration results from Ginsberg's categories. But although Ginsberg's categories give an aspect of caricature, it is, like all caricature, an exaggeration of a fact. The fact is what Ginsberg says: "The American economy is much less private than either its defenders or critics have assumed."

Next, Ginsberg calculates that 7.7 per cent of U.S. employment either is in nonprofit institutions such as churches and colleges, or is derived from purchases they make in the private sector. Adding this 7.7 per cent to the 24.3 per cent "accounted for" directly or indirectly by government, Ginsberg decides that the "not-for-profit" sector "accounts for" at least 32 per cent of U.S. employment—one job in three.

In addition, he notes that 6 per cent of all U.S. workers are in transportation, communication, or production of power, industries that generally are "something less than completely private" because they "operate under government controls that restrict their freedom with respect to both prices and profits. And three other major industries—agriculture, banking and insurance—are at least partially under price and profit controls."

There is some artificiality in the categories Ginsberg uses. But Ginsberg's analysis dramatizes a legitimate point, a national problem, and a Republican dilemma: There is an artificiality in conventional talk about the U.S. private enterprise system. If the GOP presents itself simply as the defender of a pure "free enterprise system," the conservative party will be trying to conserve something that no longer exists.

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## Five Years as a Prostitute

"You must not have too tender a heart. You must avoid thinking when you're a whore. Those two things are incompatible with the métier."—Jeanne Cordelier in "La Déroboade."

By Susan Heller Anderson

PARIS, Jan. 5 (NYT).—Jeanne Cordelier did not take her own advice. The result is a touching and shocking, emotional and thoughtful account of her five years as a prostitute.

"La Déroboade" presents an unjudgmental, unrepentant picture of the life of a whore. It is not pretty, peopled with brutal pimps, inhuman madams, greedy cops and clients with an array of sexual perversions. But this best seller offers something for everybody—men and women, voyeurs and feminists.

"I didn't set out to write an exposé," Miss Cordelier insists. "I'm not a spokesman for prostitutes. I simply wanted to write and it was natural that my first book was drawn from my own life."

### Nearly a Cliché

How it came to be published is nearly a cliché. In 1968, when she began the book, she met the niece of the writer Paul Guimard at the hairdresser's and she introduced Miss Cordelier to her uncle. He read the first chapters and encouraged her, saying to get in touch when she was finished. Five years, and 10 bulging, handwritten notebooks later, she recontacted Mr. Guimard, who sent her to an editor at Hachette. Mr. Guimard's daughter, the feminist writer Benoitte Guimard, did the preface.

Sitting on the rug in her small Paris apartment, Miss Cordelier looks younger than 32. She seems vulnerable but open. After spilling her life onto 402 printed pages, she still finds it difficult to talk about.

In the book she never explains why she became a prostitute and even now, seven years later, she is still not sure. But her background is familiar.

"We were the marginals in life," she says of her family. "We were treated like dirt. I was fed up with being limited, interrogated by the landlord, reading on the walls that my mother was a whore. I was fed up with taking the consequences for my father's years in prison."

"When I was a little girl, I didn't play with dolls or hoops. I played with kitchen knives and broken bottles," she writes.

Stalin made three attempts to eliminate religion by persecution in the 1920s and 1930s; all three failed. During and after World War II, the opening of new churches was allowed; about half were closed again in the early 1960s under Nikita Khrushchev.

"The church in our country will always exist because our country, by its Christian nature, has the richest soil for Christianity just now. There is suffering and persecution here. It is not those wallowing in luxury who clutch at a straw," said Father Dmitri.

ter, it is brutal and angry. "Ugh! I detest my body. I discovered it too young . . ." she writes. She was raped by her father.

One prostitute in four was raped during childhood, most often by her father, and 49 per cent are younger than 17 when they first prostitute themselves, according to statistics in the preface. Seventy per cent come from poor suburbs or neighborhoods of Paris, like Miss Cordelier, or rural areas.

Miss Cordelier piled her trade in a house, in a bar, in front of a hotel, on the streets, in a car, and finally in an abortion, a human meat market where she had 60 clients a day. "Each trick costs 25 francs," the madam told her. "Half for you, half for us. A trick lasts seven minutes beginning the instant you leave the bar with a client and ending when you return. If you exceed seven minutes, the fee goes to us."

### Half of Half

Half of the prostitute's half goes to her pimp. "All the girls I knew had pimps," Miss Cordelier explains. Her own was a frightening but pathetic "sub-man," as she calls him, in retrospect. "He tried to be a tough guy, but it was a joke. He was a weakling who trembled at the idea of losing me," she writes. "But I saw myself shrivel while he fed off me, stripping me night after night of my options."

The days of degradation at the hands of madams and clients were sometimes worse, and often dangerous. She was beaten many times, and threatened with guns and knives.

There is no protection for prostitutes. The arm of the law is never far away, but never on their side. Ever since Adam and Eve, women have been seen as leading innocent men astray. "For 20 centuries, all the rules and laws which codify prostitution have as their sole aim the protection of the client," Mrs. Guimard writes in the preface. In France, prostitution is not illegal but soliciting is. The client is never charged.

Despite this, Miss Cordelier is against legislation. "It would just encourage young girls. Besides, it's really the pimps who are behind the movement to legalize," she says.

### Her Escape

Her escape from her pimp was frightening. "It didn't take long for me to realize that the life was suicide for me," she recalls. "But getting out was hard." Gérard dominated her totally. When she moved out, he followed her everywhere. She finally hid in her sister's closet for nearly a month. She had a nervous breakdown.

On the pretext of being reasonable, Gérard asked her to pick up her clothes. Taking the



Jeanne Cordelier, author and ex-prostitute.

precaution of being accompanied by her sister, her sister's pimp and her father, she went to the apartment and Gérard beat her into unconsciousness.

Literally running for her life, when her family finally rescued her, she fled from France, returning in 1974 with most of the book written. She uses a pseudonym to protect her family, with whom she is finally reconciled. "Success comes everything," she says. She is at work on a second book, a novel.

"La Déroboade" has sold more than 300,000 copies and is being translated into 15 languages. The word "déroboade" in this context is used in the equestrian sense and means to refuse a hurdle. It will be published in the United States by Mark Seaver, a division of Viking Press. Since the book came out last summer in French, Miss Cordelier has received hundreds of letters. "Not a single one from a whore," she says sadly. "But I did what I could."

## After a Mastectomy, Plastic Surgery?

By Dee Wedemeyer

NEW YORK (NYT).—In an operation that is stirring debate in the medical profession, plastic surgeons are reconstructing the breasts of women who have had mastectomies.

Some reconstructions have been done in past decades but the old procedure involved transplanting skin and tissue from other parts of the body in stages and was criticized because it was aesthetically unsuccessful and because it created scars.

Surgeons say reconstruction has been facilitated by the development of a silicone gel implant, an effort pioneered in 1962 by Dr. Thomas Cronin, a Houston surgeon, whose first implant was used for breast augmentation. Since then the implant has been significantly improved and several other designs developed.

Plastic surgeons also say they have been aided by a trend for cancer survivors to do less extensive mastectomies, thus making the reconstruction easier. Women are also said to be requesting the operation in increasing numbers.

Psychological Effects  
Surgeons stress the psychological benefits of reconstruction, either providing relief before the cancer operation or a boost some time later.

"They consider themselves to have a deformity," said Dr. Robert Goldwyn, associate clinical professor of surgery at Harvard Medical School and author of "Plastic and Reconstructive Sur-

gery of the Breast." He added, "Remember this is a group of women who knew what they looked like before and have generally a reminder (the remaining breast) of what they looked like before."

He said that some women had their mastectomies pressing on their minds constantly and that they developed rituals, such as undressing in the dark.

"The reconstruction helps them to get on with living a normal life without having to worry about it," Dr. Goldwyn said.

Dr. Cronin estimated that as many as 80 per cent of the women who had undergone mastectomy could have some degree of reconstruction, and other doctors give higher estimates.

Dr. Cronin said that reconstruction was most difficult with patients who had undergone severe radiation treatment that had damaged blood circulation in the breast area; where skin grafts had been used to close the mastectomy wound, resulting in a tight, thin skin, plastered to the chest wall; and in radical mastectomies in which pectoral muscles are removed, causing a hollow area that is difficult to fill in.

"It might be such a monumental job in some cases that it is possible but not practical," said Dr. Cronin.

Reconstruction has met with resistance from some cancer sur-

geons who fear that plastic surgery will cause compromise in order to facilitate reconstruction.

"Madness," said Dr. C. D. Haegensen, emeritus professor of surgery at Columbia University and a longtime advocate of radical mastectomies.

Dr. Haegensen said he believed cancer could be spread by another operation, that the cosmetic results he had seen were not aesthetically successful and that if there was enough skin left to do an implant, he believes the surgery was not radical enough, and the patient had less chance for survival and that to do plastic surgery on a patient who might die was "unconscionable."

Figures on how many surgeons are performing the operation or how many women have had reconstruction are not available. But in 1975, doctors at Vanderbilt University sent a questionnaire to 1,538 plastic surgeons in the United States and Canada. Of the 795 who replied, 359 had performed 1,186 breast reconstructions.

Some surgeons are circumspect in their assurances, trying not to raise unreasonable expectations, promising only a breast that will free a woman from a prosthesis and be convincing under clothes or in a bathing suit or low-cut dress.

Some doctors felt this position on cosmetic improvement did not go far enough. "That's falling

short of the possibilities," said Dr. Ralph Millard Jr., professor of plastic surgery at the University of Miami School of Medicine. "Our goal, as in all plastic surgery, is to make them look better than they did before."

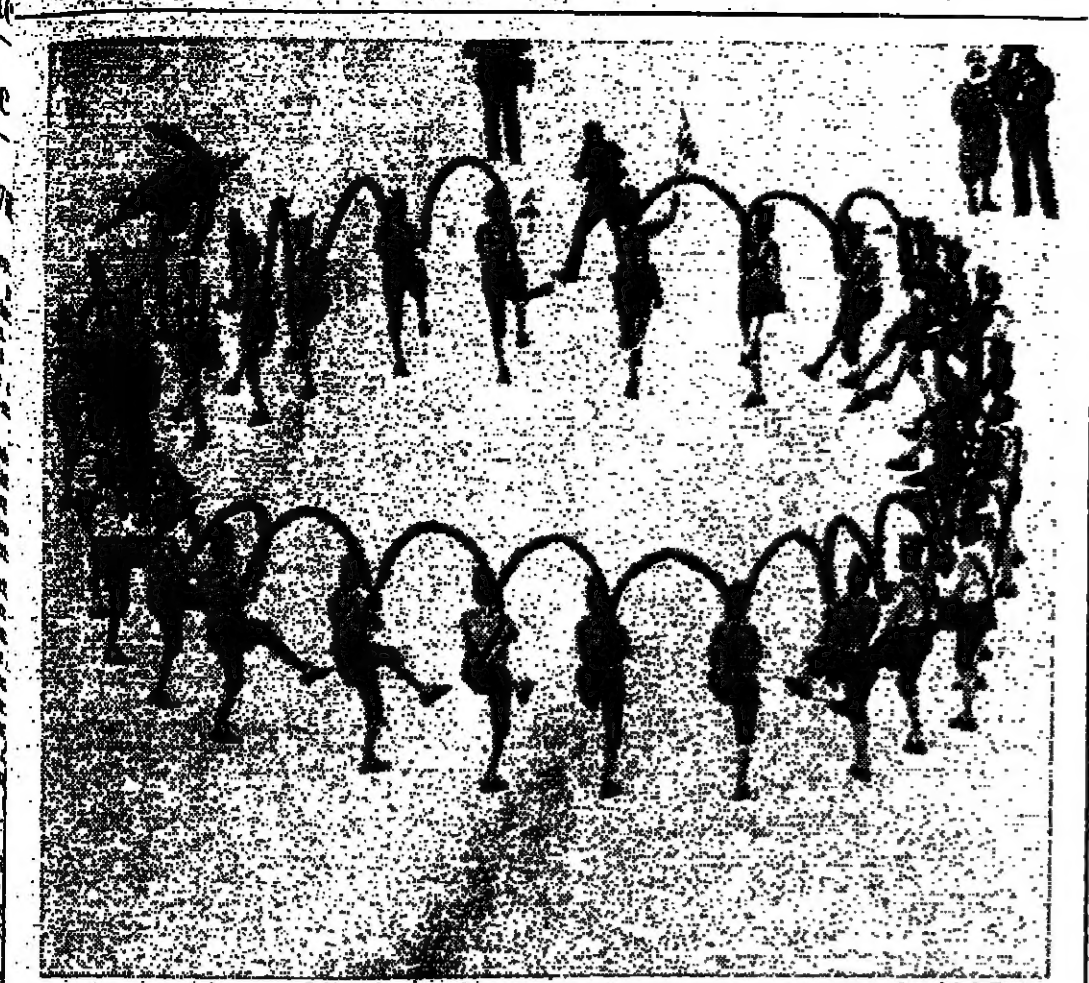
The operation can be a simple procedure requiring an incision and insertion of a bag of silicone gel—not to be confused with the controversial silicone liquid injections.

However, for some patients with insufficient skin to cover an implant, a flap of skin from another part of the body must be incised into the area. The procedure can require several hospitalizations.

"Banking"

Where the plastic surgeons have worked with the cancer surgeons, they are in some cases preserving the original areola-pipple complex by "banking" it on another part of the body, frequently the lower abdomen, until it can be reused in reconstruction.

Gradually cancer surgeons are coming to support the operation. Among them is Dr. Jerome Urban, attending surgeon at Memorial Sloan Kettering in New York. He said reconstruction was an incentive to some women to come early for cancer diagnosis, and he said he had no objection, provided the removal of the cancer still had priority. "It is better to have a live patient than a reconstructed one," said Dr. Urban. "Otherwise I think more power to the plastic people."



ICE DANCE—Members of the barrel-makers guild in Bavaria performing a dance on the ice at Garmisch-Partenkirchen, an event held every seven years since Middle Ages when members vowed to do so in thanks for their escaping plague.

### Contradiction Is Denied in Practice

## Christianity and Marxism Coexist in Russia

By David K. Shipler

MOSCOW, Jan. 5 (NYT).—Some months ago a 15-year-old Armenian walked into a church in Baku. She crossed herself, lit a candle and bowed her head in a brief prayer.

All was not as it appeared. Both parents are Communist party members, and she belongs to Komsomol, the young Communist league. She said that her visits to the church, made frequently in the private, were kept secret from her mother and father.

She has no difficulty reconciling her Communist affiliation with her religious faith, she explained, adding: "It's easy. When they ask me the Komsomol questions if I believe in God, I say, 'No.'"

Throughout the Soviet Union, from rural villages in the Caucasus to industrial cities in Russia, Christianity and Communism have attained an uneasy coexistence. Neither the tenets of the one nor the other are openly proclaimed, and both are practiced in secret.

While religion's freedom is guaranteed by the Constitution, religious activity is severely circumscribed by law and it is limited even further by the uncodified practices of employers, teachers, party officials and others in a Ginzberg's position to exert informal pressure through Ginzberg's on and discrimination against an aspect of believers. Yet, the society is permeated by those who call themselves Christians.

Their numbers in the population of 250 million are uncounted. In either its demographics they are making the best calculations they can, estimate that there are at least 30 million members of the Orthodox Church—double the size of the Communist party—plus 6 million Roman Catholics and 2 million Protestants, Baptists, Pentecostals, Seventh-day Adventists and other Protestant sects.

Some are open dissidents but decide that the many are well-integrated dissidents, perhaps party members. A per cent of those drawn to the church by its "extreme" of faithfulness—one job in a factory, a search for a set of moral values, a sense of life's purpose beyond what Communist ideology provides.

Some wear crosses and fill the church with candles and icons, and use the church for their religious holidays. Others read Bible stories at home and hope that their children will move closer to the church than they. Still others defy the law by which church members must keep their faith secret, by holding secret services in their homes and holding services in their apartments. A large group of some 100,000 underground Baptists operates a clandestine printing shop where they produce a clandestine-looking magazine called "Baptist Bulletin."

Improvements Ahead  
Religious improvisation abounds. Polivanov, a 50-year-old Baptist, said that he was baptized seven years ago in a huge municipal swimming pool on the banks of the Moscow River by a U.S. Baptist here as a tourist. "There are only two of us," he said. "We prayed and dunked."

His 18-year-old daughter was baptized in the bathtub of their three-room Moscow apartment. In the turn describes having visited Russians and foreigners in the tub and the pool. One was a 12-year-old neighbor whom she gave religious instruction, contrary to his mother's wishes but with his grandmother's consent.

Other baptisms take place totally in established churches. The reasons for the curious clasp of Communist and Christian affiliations are the subject of debate. Those in the west tend to minimize the ideological clash between Marxism and Christianity, arguing that they hold compatible maintenance precepts.

Real Believers  
The Rev. Dmitri Dudko, an openly Russian Orthodox priest with a parish outside Moscow, said that the phenom-

non of Communists being baptized "signifies a paradox—that they are real believers and real Communists." He contended that no neat line can be drawn between believers and nonbelievers in this society. At some middle ground, their divergent impulses merge and blur and it is common to encounter Russians whose personal ethics and values are not contrary to either Communism or Christianity.

On the other hand, many outside the church think that the current interest in religion reflects the low ideological content of modern Soviet Communism. A Communist utopia, in which religion is no longer needed, has faded as a vision of the future. Membership in the party and especially in the much less exclusive Komsomol, to which a vast majority of those from 14 to 28 belong, is often pursued mainly to advance careers.

The sense of vacuum worries some parents. An engineer who has been rather nonreligious in his adult life hopes that his children will be closer to the church. "So, they are stronger than hypocrites, so they have an inner . . . by as a base." For some, then, a step toward the church becomes an effort to gain some middle measure of personal philosophical independence.

"Official religion," a mathematician explained, "is the only permissible outlook other than Marxism-Leninism."

On another level, the church is a community, providing a feeling of belonging. Lev Kopelev, a Jew and a writer who spent 10 years in a labor camp with Alexander Solzhenitsyn, explains it with the Russian word "sobor," which means congregation, cathedral, council, synod. "The party is also a sobor," Mr. Kopelev said. "But the church is the meekest one. The church does not make demands or press so much."

For some minorities in the Soviet Union—Latvian Roman Catholics, Georgians, Armenians—organized religion can be a repository of minority culture and ethnic heritage held fast against the dominant Russians.

For the Russians, the Russian Orthodox Church can serve the same function, underscoring their ethnicity, drawing a certain line between Russianness and Communism.

Stalin made three attempts to eliminate religion by persecution in the 1920s and 1930s; all three failed. During and after World War II, the opening of new churches was allowed; about half were closed again in the early 1960s under Nikita Khrushchev.

"The church in our country will always exist because our country, by its Christian nature, has the richest soil for Christianity just now. There is suffering and persecution here. It is not those wallowing in luxury who clutch at a straw," said Father Dmitri.

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**h**  
**p**

(Continued on Page 8.)



## U.K. Cuts Its Forecast On Rise in Co. Outlays

LONDON, Jan. 5 (AP-DJ).—The British government today cut its forecast for 1977, saying that the rise in corporate outlays would be more than it had expected.

## West German Jobless Rate Soars in Dec.

MUNICH, Jan. 5 (Reuters).—The number of unemployed workers in West Germany rose sharply in December, the Federal Labor Office here announced today.

The increase added further fuel to a debate on whether working hours should be cut to provide more jobs.

## Reserves Fall In U.K. but Pound Gains

LONDON, Jan. 5 (Reuters).—Britain's monetary reserves tumbled to an uncomfortably low level in December, the Treasury announced today.

## Committee Set Up To Study British Financial Bodies

LONDON, Jan. 5 (Reuters).—The government today set up a committee to study the financial bodies in Britain and abroad.

## U.S. Seen Ending DISC Tax Plan

NEW YORK, Jan. 5 (AP-DJ).—U.S. tax authorities are predicting that the Domestic International Sales Corporation (DISC) soon will be buried by the Carter administration.

## Traders Await Carter Plan

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Great Atlantic & Pacific	1,800.00	1,700.00
Revenue	5.09	2.42
Profits	0.20	0.09
Per Share	0.20	0.09
Nine Months to Nov. 30	5,200.00	4,700.00
Revenue	22.1	1.58
Profits	0.89	0.06
Per Share	0.89	0.06

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## Meeting Expected to Be Held Tomorrow NYSE to Consider Admitting Foreigners

NEW YORK, Jan. 5 (AP-DJ).—After long prodding by the Securities and Exchange Commission and Congress, the New York Stock Exchange board is expected to consider tomorrow taking initial steps toward removing all barriers against foreign membership on the exchange.

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